2: Damm et al. --76 [4] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 844 Ifaluk

Birth occurs in a special hut (imelibélu); the afterbirth (bái) is buried in the sand on the shore.

4: Krämer--107 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 844 Lamotrek

According to Elisabeth Krämer, Ilolumai is an old medicine-man who was the first to have prepared the medicine (taffe). Payment for the efforts of the medicine-man are 1-2 mats. When labor pains have set in, the taffi ale ngërak prepared by the husband takes place. In order to hasten labor and the birth of the child, the taffi ali gauli ali medak is used. jitengi, to press.

Midwife, vâle malâu.

4: Krämer--267-268 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 844 Woleai

For her confinement, the mother-to-be goes to the imalipel. The midwife, valimelau, squats between the legs of the woman in labor and receives the newborn baby. An assistant, surëlifëtël, sits behind the woman in labor and supports her. If the birth is a slow one, she calls tsong, tsong, press, press!

When the child has appeared, the midwife cuts the umbilical cord, the bus; this is usually done with a duck shell (Entenmuschel?), giligil, and without tying it off. If the afterbirth, bëi, does not follow, nothing is done about it or at most, the abdomen is massaged very lightly, which is known as sõgi.

Born: The birth is announced by a shout which serves as a signal. Position: kneeling with her hands on her thighs or half reclining in the lap of another woman. The umbilical cord is cut with a giligil shell without being tied off. Herbs are chewed and spit on the wound. The placenta, pei, is buried....

If the woman in labor bleeds profusely, nat leaves are steamed over a fire and she sits in the vapor. When everything is over, the new mother goes to the beach and bathes [268] in salt water; other women go with her and massage her. The mother remains in the imalipel for at least four more days during the discharge of the lochia. After ten days she returns to her home. Usually her husband builds her a small imalipel in the dwelling and she stays there with the baby. The daughters of the family also stay in it for eight days when they menstruate for the first time. Soon after birth, the child, too is taken to the beach and bathed in salt water, and the afterbirth is buried. Cradle made of coconut frond plaiting. Photos 19f and h [VMM: see source].

11: Born--188 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 844 Woleai

The woman gives birth either in a kneeling position, leaning slightly forward and pressing her hands on her thighs, or she rests in the lap of another woman in a half sitting, half lying position. A shell with a sharp edge, gilgil, is used to cut off the navel cord. The cord is not tied; one of the women present chews a herb and spits it on the bleeding wound; this is said to stop the bleeding immediately. They bury the afterbirth, pei.

"When the mother first begins to feel labor pains she retires to the house in Falalap, called Weluar, which is close to the birth-hut, Emelipen. When the pains become acute she goes to Emdipen, itself, accompanied by her mother and mother's sister. Emedipen is the only birth hut in Ifaluk. It is strictly tabooed to any male, who may not walk within 50 feet of it. Should he violate this taboo, all food would rot, and a famine would ensue.

If she is still in labor at night her relatives and the relatives of her husband hold a sial for her. That is, they assemble in Weluar, where they remain awake all night, keeping watch over her, and offering her herbs to drink should the birth be difficult. (4)

"4. The necessity of actual observation, as opposed to the exclusive use of informant was brought out very clearly in obtaining this information. I did not know whether I would have the opportunity to observe a childbirth, so I organized a committee of informants, consisting of two men and two women, from whom I hoped to obtain the information. After a great number of exhaustive sessions I was sure my information was completed. Some time after these sessions, I observed a group of young men leaving in the evening for Falalap. I asked them what they were up to, and all I could make out was the word Sial, which I had never heard of. After a number of unsuccessful attempts to explain its meaning to me, they suggested that I ask Tom. Later in the evening, I saw Tom, who explained what the sial is. I immediately departed for Falalap, but I was too late. The birth had already taken place."

[84] While in labor, the mother kneels on a mat, catching the baby in her arms when it emerges. The length of labor varies considerably, but it was impossible to receive any estimate, other than the general statement that, 'some very quick, some very slow.' Though the mother is accompanied by her mother and her mother's sister, they do not serve as midwifes, except in the event of a difficult delivery, in which case they will extract the baby from the womb. Ordinarily, however, the mother delivers her own baby. She is, moreover, not to indicate her pain by any overt manifestations. Should she cry out, she would shame both her mother and herself.

After the baby is born, the mother's mother takes it, holding it in her arms until the afterbirth (bei) is discharged. She then severs the umbilical cord (buch) with a small ocean shell, wraps it in a new lavalava cloth, and buries it at the side of Emelipen. The afterbirth is disposed of in the same fashion. Should either not be buried, and should the

mother see them, she would become ill. (5)

Should the baby be born prematurely, before the mother could get to Emilipen, the mother proceeds there immediately following the birth. Should she remain in her own home with the baby, all vegetation would die."

"5. The small shell used to cut the umbilicus is called a giligin. It is very tiny and white, and is sought by the mother in her ninth month, who then keeps it in her basket containing lavalava thread until she retires to the birth-hut. Again, this is interesting in terms of the selective nature of the acculturative process. The natives have plenty of knives, of many sizes, which they esteem very highly, and use exclusively for all purposes. But in the matter of the birth, which is an act of danger, one of the rites du passage, the older shell is retained. One apparently doesn't tempt the fates, even at the gain of greater efficiency."

28: Spiro--85
116, 844

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"After the burial of the afterbirth, women of her own and of her husband's family bring the mother food--coconuts, taro, and breadfruit. While she is eating her mother takes the baby to the ocean to wash it, whether the weather and the ocean be hot or cold. When she returns she feeds the baby some water, followed by some ripe coconut oil. This is the infant's first feeding. The baby is then handed to it's mother who gives it the breast, more as a gesture than as nourishment, for as yet she has no milk, and usually has none until the fourth day."

28: Spiro--136
116, 562, 844, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Women are 'more high' because they bear children. The day following this discussion with the informants, I was struck by the idea that the stress on the woman's role as the bearer of children might have further implications for the problem of physiological paternity. I asked them, therefore, if the reason they gave for woman's superiority is valid, since they had all told me that man has a share in the procreation of children, as well. This question made them all sit up. They were completely taken aback, and answered as a man: 'You talk true, we talk lie. Man more high. You throw away that paper for yesterday. You put in book, man more high.'

This sudden reversal was quite interesting. So the next day, I assembled a number of women to get their evaluation of relative sexual status. There was a brief pause for reflection, after which they answered that men enjoy greater status as indicated by the fact that a woman must obey her brother. Though there is no full-blown avunculate here, as we have seen, the brother's relationship to his sister and her children is an intimate one, and apparently an authoritative one, as indicated by their answer, and the women's subservience to her brother in this sense emphasized for them the male superiority.

This answer was doubly interesting because a few months later, in discussing this

same matter with the chiefs, they said that men are 'more high,' (17) for the same reason, a man can give orders to his sister, but she cannot give orders to him."

"17. It is of interest to note the conceptualization of social status in spatial terms, which is identical with the usage in English, for example."

the households varied greatly in size, from one which included only one old man and one old woman, to another (Falepenach) which had twenty-six persons. The household system was matrilineal, and when a man married he moved into the household to which his wife belonged. In the matter of what belonged to which household, a man generally seemed to know much more about the household of his mother than about the household of his wife, even though he had been living in the latter for many years. There was considerable informal movement among the households—people sometimes eating and sleeping regularly in a household to which they didn't really "belong"—which introduced a considerable element of confusion into the census making. This informality plus clan relationships and other family ties meant that labor was not strictly apportioned by household—the two old people who officially represented the smallest household were as well looked after as old people would be in a household with numerous members. Everyone really "belonged" to the whole island.

This matter of "belonging" had been on my mind ever since reading that thought-provoking short novel by Carson McCullers, *Member of the Wedding*. The "security" of the children of Ifaluk impressed us from the very beginning. Every child was a member not only of a family and a household, but of the whole island society. A child crying would be comforted by the nearest adult. Curiously, the children, though "secure", were far from obnoxious—in fact it would be difficult to imagine a more delightful bunch of kids. The "sibling rivalry" that seems to plague every American household was conspicuous by its absence—the mannerly, non-aggressive character of Ifaluk society extended even to the five-year-olds.

The security of the children of Ifaluk is probably still further increased by the widespread system of adoption. Ted found that over a third of the children of the island had been "adopted" by couples who were not their biological parents. When a couple for some reason wish another child, they go to a pregnant woman (who must be of the clan of either the adopting father or adopting mother) and ask if they may adopt the child when it is born. The request, it is said, is never refused. The adopting mother goes to the birth house with the real mother—all children are born in a special house, which is taboo to men—and stays there while the baby is born. The biological mother keeps the baby

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

590 844 until it is able to walk, but the adopting mother shares the care and affections from the beginning; and when the baby is able to walk, it moves officially into the household of the adopting parents.

593 597 The child thus really acquires an extra set of parents, since it continues all through life to have close association with its real parents as well as with its adopting parents. The child acquires extra sets of "brothers" and "sisters" as well. Don found some difficulty with the word "brother" in teaching English since, while the Ifalukians all knew who were blood brothers and who were not, the matter seemed of little importance to them.

Our friend Yani, for instance, and his wife, Letaweriur, had three children. His oldest had been adopted into his mother's household, Soumat, and his next into his father's household (since his father was a re-married widower with no children by the second wife). Only the youngest had he kept to himself. Yet Yani was with all of his children every day. In this case, Yani and his wife, although they officially belonged in her household, Falepenach, spent most of their time in the Soumat household, since it was less crowded. This sort of casualness gave us a great deal of trouble with that census.

126 133 487 But this is straying from the problem of trying to get the Falarik trails down on the base map. With the broad highway and the canoe houses as fixed points of reference, we started to map the principal trails across the island. Falarik was a crescent, following the curve of the circular atoll reef; it was a little over a mile long, with an average width of about 300 yards. There were a dozen or so trails across the island from the inhabited, lagoon side, to the outer, ocean side.

The first of these, taking off from the canoe house beside the Fan Nap, began as a "highway" rather than a "trail." Like the broad highway, it was a wide, straight path, marked on both sides by lines of moss-covered coral rocks. On the left side of this trail was the dense vegetation of Katelu, the sacred site of the ancient Men's House which [1178] was in use in the time of Maur, the island's "culture hero." This sacred spot was never entered by anyone except Maroligar, who was its official custodian. As a result, it was a wild tangle of natural vegetation. At one point on the path by Katelu was a large, fresh-water pool in [643] which Fagolier, the paramount chief, sometimes bathed. On the right